

Message Text

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C O N F I D E N T I A L SECTION 01 OF 05 BONN 09188

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E.O. 11652: XGDS 1
TAGS: PGOV, BQG
SUBJECT: REPORT ON BERLIN TOPICS DISCUSSED DURING
BREZHNEV VISIT: GENSCHER/GROMYKO DISCUSSIONS
AND TALKS IN HAMBURG

REFS: (A) BONN 8990 (NOTAL); (B) BONN 8039 (NOTAL);
(C) 77 BONN 20577 (NOTAL)

BEGIN SUMMARY: AT THE MAY 16 BONN GROUP MEETING, FRG
REP (VON BRAUNMUEHL) BRIEFED THE ALLIES AS PROMISED
(REF A) ON THE BERLIN AND INNER-GERMAN ASPECTS OF THE
GENSCHER/GROMYKO DISCUSSIONS AND OF THE DISCUSSIONS IN
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HAMBURG DURING THE BREZHNEV VISIT. THE GENSCHER/GROMYKO
CONVERSATIONS COVERED THE SUBJECTS OF THE THREE OUTSTAND-
ING FRG/USSR AGREEMENTS, THE PROVISION OF CONSULAR
SERVICES TO BERLINERS, STOBBE'S BUNDESRAT PRESIDENCY,
EUROPEAN PARLIAMENT ELECTIONS AND THE FRG'S POSITION ON
THE RELATIONSHIP BETWEEN BERLIN AND THE FRG.

THE HAMBURG TALKS, IN WHICH BREZHNEV AND SCHMIDT AS WELL AS THE FOREIGN MINISTERS TOOK PART, COVERED FRG/GDR RELATIONS, THE RESPECTIVE VIEWS ON GERMAN REUNIFICATION, THE ELBE BORDER, FRG HARD-CURRENCY PAYMENTS TO THE GDR AND THE PLANNED SCHMIDT/HONECKER MEETING.

THE TALKS APPARENTLY RESULTED IN NO BREAKTHROUGHS AND CONTAIN NO NEW TOPICS BUT VON BRAUNMUEHL'S REPORT INDICATES THAT BOTH SIDES HAD A FRANK BUT NOT UNFRIENDLY EXCHANGE OF VIEWS. END SUMMARY

GENSCHER/GROMYKO DISCUSSIONS

1. IN THEIR DISCUSSIONS ON MAY 6, GENSCHER RAISED THE QUESTION OF BERLIN. HE SAID HE WAS SURE THAT GROMYKO HAD NOTICED THAT THE FRG HAD NOT PLACED THE THREE PROPOSED FRG/USSR AGREEMENTS, WHICH COULD NOT BE CONCLUDED BECAUSE OF THE BERLIN PROBLEM, IN THE CENTER OF THE TALKS AND THAT THE FRG HAD NOT MADE ITS ASSESSMENT OF THE VISIT DEPENDENT ON THE SUCCESSFUL CONCLUSION OF THESE AGREEMENTS. HE SAID THAT THE FRG VIEW WAS THAT THE FRG AND USSR SHOULD NOT DEMAND TOO MUCH OF EACH OTHER BUT SHOULD WORK TOWARDS FINDING A SOLUTION AT SOME LATER STAGE OF THE PROBLEM OF THE INCLUSION OF BERLIN IN THESE AGREEMENTS.

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2. GROMYKO APPEARED TO AGREE RELUCTANTLY. GENSCHER THEN SAID THAT ONE QUESTION IN THE BERLIN CONTEXT SEEMED AMENABLE TO RESOLUTION NOW, THAT OF CONSULAR SERVICES (FERNBETREUUNG, REF B). HE SAID THAT SOME YEARS AGO THE SOVIETS HAD SAID THEY HAD NO OBJECTION IN PRINCIPLE TO THIS PRACTICE AND THAT THE SOVIETS PERMIT OTHER FOREIGN MISSIONS TO PROVIDE THE SERVICE. HE SAID THAT

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THERE ARE, OF COURSE, FEW CASES OF BERLINERS SEEKING THIS SERVICE IN THE USSR BUT THAT IT IS A MUCH GREATER PROBLEM IN THE GDR, WHERE THE SERVICE IS MUCH MORE IN DEMAND. HE NOTED THAT THE GDR HAD LET IT BE UNDERSTOOD THAT THIS COULD BE RESOLVED IF THE FRG COULD COME TO AN AGREEMENT WITH THE USSR AND THAT ONE OF HIS COLLEAGUES WOULD PROVIDE GROMYKO'S COLLEAGUE WITH THE DETAILS OF THE FRG PROPOSAL. GROMYKO APPARENTLY DID NOT UNDERSTAND THE PROBLEM AND AT FIRST THOUGHT IT WAS "LEGAL ASSISTANCE", THE SUBJECT OF ONE OF THE THREE OUTSTANDING FRG/USSR AGREEMENTS MENTIONED ABOVE. HOWEVER, WHEN THE PROBLEM WAS MADE CLEAR TO GROMYKO, HE SAID HE WOULD INFORM HIMSELF ON THE MATTER AND THE USSR WOULD STUDY
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THE FRG PROPOSALS.

3. GENSCHER SAID THAT SINCE THE FRG IS INTERESTED IN MUTUAL CONFIDENCE BUILDING, HE WISHED TO RAISE TWO QUESTION, STOBBE'S PRESIDENCY OF THE BUNDESRAT AND EUROPEAN PARLIAMENT ELECTIONS. WITH RESPECT TO THE FIRST HE SAID THAT STOBBE WOULD EXERCISE THE FUNCTIONS OF HIS OFFICE IN A WAY WHICH, NOTWITHSTANDING THE QUESTION OF LEGAL PERMISSIBILITY, WOULD TAKE INTO CONSIDERATION THE "PSYCHOLOGICAL" ASPECTS OF THE PROBLEM. WITH RESPECT TO THE SECOND, GENSCHER SAID THAT ACCORDING TO THE PROCEDURES FOLLOWED UP TO NOW, ALL REPRESENTATIVES

INCLUDING BERLINERS HAVE BEEN ELECTED BY THE BUNDESTAG. HOWEVER, SINCE THE ELECTIONS PLANNED FOR NEXT YEAR WILL BE DIRECT ONES, THE BERLIN REPRESENTATIVES WILL BE ELECTED NOT BY THE BUNDESTAG BUT INDIRECTLY BY THE BERLIN HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES. VON BRAUNMUEHL SAID THAT GENSCHER MENTIONED THIS TO GROMYKO IN ORDER THAT GROMYKO COULD NOT, IN THE FUTURE, COMPLAIN THAT THE FRG HAD NOT INFORMED HIM OF THIS.

4. GROMYKO RESPONDED THAT THERE WAS NO TIME TO DISCUSS THESE MATTERS IN DETAIL. THE SOVIET UNION STOOD FOR STRICT OBSERVANCE OF THE QA. FRG STEPS WHICH CONTRADICT THE AGREEMENT WOULD NOT BE TO THE BENEFIT OF THE FRG NOR WOULD IT HELP ITS RELATIONS WITH THE USSR OR THE GDR. GROMYKO ASKED WHETHER THE GDR KNEW ABOUT THESE TWO POINTS AND, IF SO, WHAT WAS THE POSITION OF THE GDR. GROMYKO SAID HE HAD TO ASK THIS QUESTION BECAUSE THE SOVIET SIDE HAD TO CONSULT WITH THE GDR.

5. GENSCHER REPLIED THAT THE GDR WAS CERTAINLY INFORMED BY THE NEWS MEDIA AND THAT THE FRG WAS, ON CONFIDENTIAL

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THESE QUESTIONS, IN CONTACT WITH THE WESTERN SIGNATORIES OF THE QA. HOWEVER, THE FRG HAD NOT RAISED THESE POINTS IN ITS TALKS WITH THE GDR. HE AGAIN STRESSED THAT HE HAD RAISED THESE POINTS WITH GROMYKO FOR THE SAKE OF INFORMATION AND TO AVOID DIFFICULTIES IN THE FUTURE.

6. APART FROM THESE MATTERS, GENSCHER RECOMMENDED TO GROMYKO THAT HE SHOULD FAMILIARIZE HIMSELF WITH THE STATEMENT BY MINISTER OF STATE VON DOHNANYI, GIVEN IN THE BUNDESTAG LAST YEAR (REF C). THIS REPRESENTED THE FRG'S OFFICIAL POSITION ON THE RELATIONSHIP BETWEEN BERLIN AND THE FRG AND WAS IMPORTANT. GENSCHER SAID THAT THE FRG HAD TAKEN IT THAT THERE WAS FAVORABLE SOVIET REACTION TO THIS STATEMENT.

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7. GROMYKO ASKED WHO IN THE SOVIET UNION HAD GIVEN SUCH A FAVORABLE REACTION. GENSCHER REPLIED HE KNEW OF NO OFFICIAL REACTION BUT THE FRG HAD THIS IMPRESSION FROM ITS SOVIET CONVERSATION PARTNERS. GROMYKO ASKED WHEN THE MATTER WAS RAISED IN THE BUNDESTAG TO WHICH GENSCHER REPLIED SOME MONTHS AGO. GROMYKO SAID HE WOULD FAMILIARIZE HIMSELF WITH THE TEXT. GROMYKO ALSO SAID THAT WHEN THE FRG DISCUSSES QUESTIONS WITH THE GDR, IT WOULD BE FALSE TO ASSUME THAT THE SOVIET POSITION WILL ECHO THAT OF THE GDR. HE SAID THAT THE USSR COULD SAY NOTHING BEFORE CONSULTING WITH THE GDR AND THEREFORE COULD ONLY REPEAT THAT THE SOVIET UNION WAS FOR FULL CONFIDENTIAL

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OBSERVANCE OF THE QA.

8. GROMYKO MENTIONED THAT AFTER HIS RETURN TO THE SOVIET UNION, HE WOULD BE IN THE GDR FOR A FEW DAYS BUT DID NOT EXPECT THAT THESE QUESTIONS WOULD BE DISCUSSED AT THIS TIME. THESE WOULD BE TAKEN UP BY EXPERTS, NOT BY MINISTERS.

9. IN COMMENTING ON THE GENSCHER-GROMYKO TALKS,

VON BRAUNMUEHL SAID THE FRG FOUND MOST INTERESTING THE FACT THAT GROMYKO WAS NOT WELL INFORMED AND THAT THE SOVIETS ASSUME THAT THE FRG REGULARLY DISCUSSES QUESTIONS INVOLVING BERLIN WITH THE GDR.

TALKS IN HAMBURG

10. THE HAMBURG TALKS TOOK PLACE ON MAY 7, WITH THE PARTICIPATION OF BREZHNEV, SCHMIDT, GENSCHER AND GROMYKO. BREZHNEV RAISED THE QUESTION OF FRG/GDR RELATIONS. HE SAID THE SOVIET UNION WAS NOT DISINTERESTED AS TO HOW THESE RELATIONS DEVELOPED. THE SOVIET UNION WAS GLAD THAT THE RELATIONS, SINCE THE CONCLUSION OF THE FRG/GDR BASIC TREATY, HAD BROUGHT IMPROVEMENTS. THE GENERAL POPULATION IN BOTH GERMAN STATES HAD BENEFITTED. HE SAID THAT A PREREQUISITE FOR THIS IMPROVEMENT WAS THE RECOGNITION BY THE FRG OF THE TERRITORIAL AND POLITICAL REALITIES IN EUROPE. BOTH OF THESE TERMS WERE INSEPARABLE.

11. BREZHNEV SAID THAT, AS THE GDR LEADERSHIP HAD ALSO MENTIONED TO THE SOVIET SIDE, THE USSR HAS FREQUENTLY NOTICED IN RECENT YEARS A TENDENCY ON THE PART OF THE FRG TO TRANSFORM THE PROCESS OF NORMALIZATION OF FRG/GDR
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RELATIONS INTO A ONE-WAY STREET. THE GDR IS SOLVING THE PRACTICAL QUESTIONS OF THE DEVELOPMENT OF RELATIONS IN A CONSTRUCTIVE SPIRIT; THE SOVIET UNION WONDERS WHAT THE FRG IS INTERESTED IN. IT IS ALSO KNOWN TO THE SOVIET SIDE THAT THE FRG HESITATES TO TAKE ON THE SOLUTION OF SUCH RIPE PROBLEMS AS GDR CITIZENSHIP, THE RAISING OF THE STATUS OF THE RESPECTIVE FRG AND GDR PERMANENT REPRESENTATIONS AND THE DEMARCATION OF BORDERS. HE ASKED WHAT THE PROBLEM IS. HE SAID THAT SOME FRG POLITICIANS AND PARTY LEADERS DECLARE FRANKLY THAT THEY ARE AGAINST NORMAL RELATIONS UNDER INTERNATIONAL LAW BETWEEN THE TWO GERMAN STATES AND FOR SPECIAL RELATIONS WHICH WILL MAKE IT POSSIBLE TO KEEP OPEN THE GERMAN QUESTION AND BRING ABOUT A CHANGE IN THE SITUATION.

12. BREZHNEV ADDED THAT SCHMIDT KNEW THE POSITION OF THE USSR AND GDR. THERE ARE TWO INDEPENDENT GERMAN STATES. THIS IS REALITY AND ONE HAD TO PROCEED ON THAT BASIS. IF THE FRG WANTED THE DEVELOPMENT OF NORMAL AND CONSTRUCTIVE RELATIONS WITH THE GDR, THE FRG MUST ACT ON THE BASIS OF INTERNATIONAL LAW. THE GDR GOVERNMENT HAD EXPLAINED THIS SEVERAL TIMES AND THE USSR

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FULLY SHARES THAT POSITION. HE SAID HE WANTED TO
REPEAT THAT HE DID NOT WANT TO OPEN NEW DISCUSSIONS, ONLY
CONTINUE THE TALKS HE HAD HAD FOR THE LAST SEVERAL DAYS.

13. SCHMIDT SAID HE UNDERSTOOD WELL THAT BREZHNEV
WANTED TO RAISE THE QUESTION. HE WELCOMED THE OPPOR-
TUNITY TO EXPRESS HIS VIEWS. AS THE FRG VIEWED THE
DEVELOPMENT OF RELATIONS BETWEEN THE FRG AND GDR IN
RECENT YEARS, THE RELATIONS HAD DEVELOPED IN A POSITIVE
WAY. THIS WAS PARTICULARLY TRUE IN THE CASE OF VISITS
TO THE GDR, FAMILY REUNIFICATION, TRADE AND POSTAL
MATTERS. MUCH REMAINED TO BE DONE. THE SITUATION
WAS EXTREMELY COMPLICATED AND SLOW AND THERE WERE SOME
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SETBACKS. HE SAID THAT HE WANTED TO MENTION TWO SUCH SETBACKS: THE TURNBACK OF CDU LEADER KOHL WHEN HE ATTEMPTED TO ENTER EAST BERLIN AND THE CLOSURE OF THE "SPIEGEL" OFFICE. SCHMIDT SAID HE WOULD WELCOME IT IF THE SOVIET LEADERSHIP WOULD CONTINUE TO SUPPORT THE EFFORTS OF THE FRG TOWARD NORMALIZATION OF RELATIONS.

14. HE SAID IT WAS KNOWN TO BREZHNEV, AND THIS HAD BEEN WRITTEN IN THE FRG BASIC LAW FOR 30 YEARS, THAT THE FRG MAINTAINS ITS GOAL OF REUNIFICATION OF THE GERMAN NATION ON THE BASIS OF SELF-DETERMINATION. THIS WAS ALSO THE VIEW OF THE GERMAN POPULATION TODAY. THE FRG KNEW THAT THE OVERCOMING OF THE DIVISION OF GERMANY APPEARED NOT TO BE POSSIBLE TODAY NOR FOR A LONG TIME TO COME. THEREFORE IT VIEWED THE GERMAN QUESTION AND THE POSSIBILITIES TO SOLVE IT AS EMBEDDED IN THE HISTORICAL PROCESS, THE FUTURE DEVELOPMENT OF WHICH WAS DIFFICULT TO FORESEE.

15. SCHMIDT SAID THAT BREZHNEV HAD SPOKEN ABOUT FRONTIERS. THE FRG HAD COMMITTED ITSELF TO THE RENUNCIATION OF FORCE AND TO THE RESPECT FOR EXISTING FRONTIERS. THE FRG AND GDR HAD ESTABLISHED ITS BOUNDARY AT ALMOST 100 POINTS AND A CORRESPONDING GOVERNMENT DOCUMENT WOULD SOON BE PUBLISHED. AT TWO POINTS, THE DETERMINATION OF WHERE THE BOUNDARY LAY WAS UNFORTUNATELY NOT POSSIBLE BECAUSE THE LINE ORIGINALLY ESTABLISHED BY THE FOUR VICTORIOUS POWERS WHO HAD DEFEATED THE NAZI REGIME WAS NOT CLEAR. IT WAS NOT POSSIBLE TO DETERMINE UNEQUIVOCALLY THE WILL OF THE FOUR POWERS WHICH EXISTED AT THAT TIME.

16. GENSCHER SAID THAT HE WISHED TO MAKE A REMARK ABOUT THESE FRG MINISTRY OF INTERIOR NEGOTIATIONS WITH THE CONFIDENTIAL

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GDR. IT WAS NOTEWORTHY AND WELCOMED THAT BREZHNEV HAD SPOKEN OF THE "DEMARICATION" OF REAL FRONTIERS, NOT THE ESTABLISHMENT OF NEW BORDERS. THE RECORDS OF THE POST-WAR DECISIONS WERE NOT CLEAR; NO POLITICAL QUESTIONS WERE INVOLVED, ONLY A QUESTION OF THE DETERMINATION OF WHAT A SOVIET MAJOR AND BRITISH CAPTAIN HAD DONE IN 1945.

17. GROMYKO SAID THE QUESTION IS SIMPLER TODAY BUT HE CRITICIZED THE FRG FOR TRYING TO LOWER THE LEVEL OF FORMALITY OF THE FRG/GDR AGREEMENT. THE GDR SAID THAT THE THALWEG OF THE ELBE SHOULD BE THE BOUNDARY, AS IS CUSTOMARY EVERYWHERE. BUT THE FRG WANTED THE LINE ON THE EAST BANK OF THE RIVER AND THE FRG HAD EXCLUDED THE POSSIBILITY OF AGREEMENT IF THE GDR DID NOT CHANGE ITS

POSITION.

18. SCHMIDT SAID THAT THE TWO SIDES COULD COME TO A

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MODUS VIVENDI AND IT WOULD BE POSSIBLE TO COME TO AN
AGREEMENT. THERE NEED NOT BE DIFFICULTIES IN THE LONG
RUN. SCHMIDT SAID HE WISHED TO MENTION SOMETHING ELSE
ABOUT WHICH THE FRG DOES NOT SPEAK LOUDLY, IE., THAT
THE FRG PAID SUBSTANTIAL SUMS IN DM WEST TO THE GDR FOR
THE USE OF THE AUTOBAHN ROUTES TO BERLIN, TELEPHONE NET-
WORK, ETC. IT IS NOT EASY TO GET THIS APPROVED BY
THE BUNDESTAG. THE SUMS PAID WOULD INCREASE IN 1980 WHEN
THE HAMBURG AUTOBAHN WAS CONSTRUCTED. (COMMENT: THE
SOVIETS DID NOT RESPOND TO THIS OBVIOUS EFFORT TO
ELICIT A FAVORABLE REACTION TO THE PLANNED AUTOBAHN.
END COMMENT)

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19. REFERRING TO THE ELBE RIVER, GROMYKO SAID THAT IF BOTH SIDES STARTED TO DIG INTO THE ARCHIVES, THEY WOULD ALSO FIND THAT THE SITUATION AROUND WEST BERLIN AROSE FROM AN EXCHANGE OF TERRORITY. WHO HAD GIVEN WHAT TO WHOM COULD NOT BE DETERMINED. SCHMIDT AGREED, SAYING THAT SENSIBLE PARTNERS SHOULD THEREFORE BE ABLE TO FIND A SENSIBLE MODUS VIVENDI.

20. SCHMIDT SAID THAT HE WAS THINKING ABOUT AN EXCHANGE OF VISITS WITH HONECKER. THIS WAS NOT YET FIRM. SCHMIDT WOULD FIRST GO TO EAST BERLIN AND HE ASKED THE SOVIETS TO CONSIDER THIS AS A SIGN THAT THE FRG WAS WORKING TOWARDS A NORMALIZATION OF RELATIONS BETWEEN THE TWO GERMAN STATES. THERE WOULD BE DIFFICULTIES ALSO IN THE FUTURE, BUT IT WOULD BE POSSIBLE TO CLEAR THEM. IF THE LEADERSHIP OF THE GDR ALLOWED ITS PEOPLE TO TRAVEL AS FREELY AS THE HUNGARIANS DO, THE SITUATION WOULD BE MUCH EASIER. BREZHNEV REPLIED THAT THIS IS A MATTER FOR FRG/GDR NEGOTIATIONS. BREZHNEV AND GROMYKO COULD GIVE NO GUARANTEES.

21. SCHMIDT SAID THAT, AS WITH BREZHNEV'S VISIT OR SCHMIDT'S VISIT TO MOSCOW, A SCHMIDT/HONECKER MEETING REQUIRED A POSITIVE ATMOSPHERE AND RESULTS WOULD HAVE TO APPEAR POSSIBLE. IT WAS PART OF THE GENERAL FRAMEWORK OF EUROPEAN DETENTE THAT THE TWO GERMAN STATES SHOULD STRIVE FOR AN IMPROVEMENT IN RELATIONS. STOESEL

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